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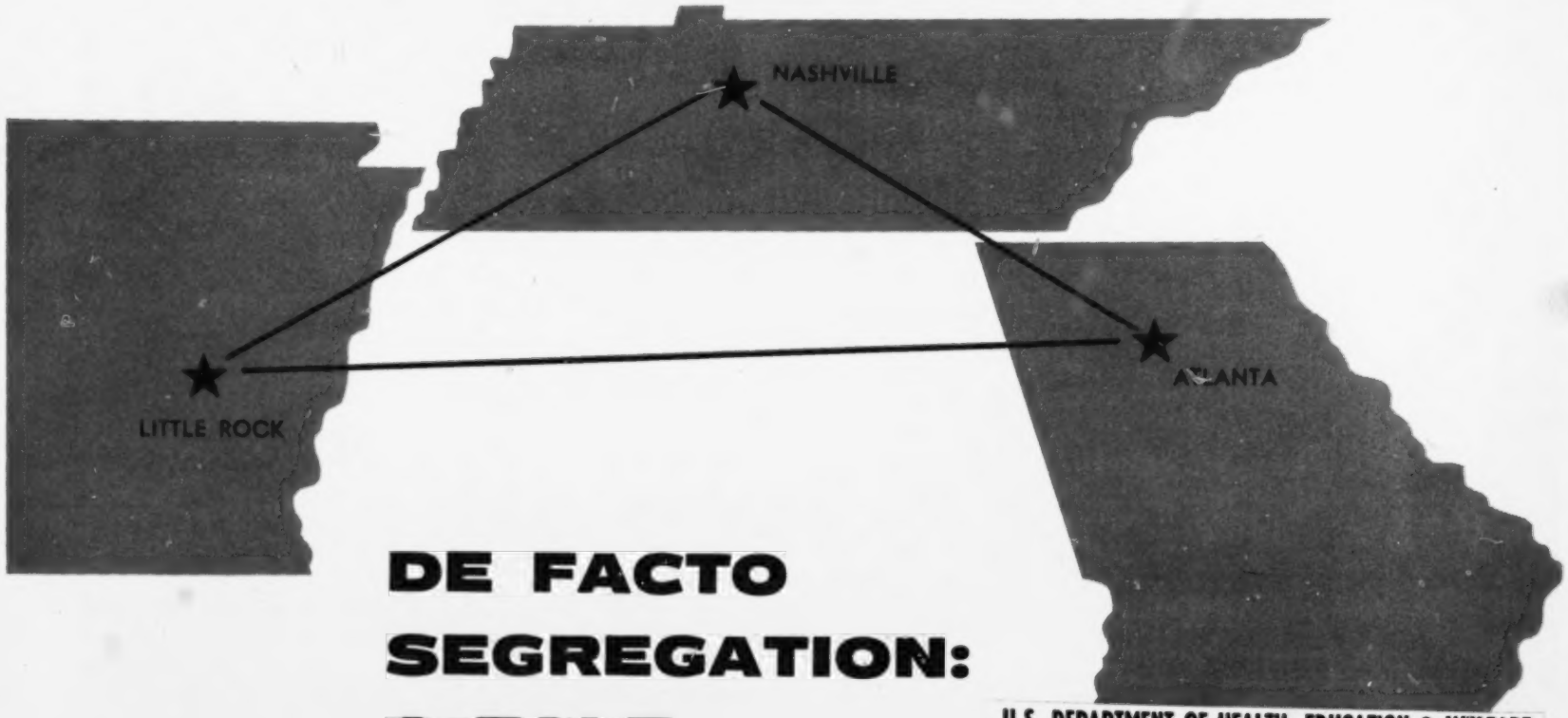
This article presents data on the status of school desegregation in Atlanta, Little Rock, and Nashville. Specifically described are integration methods, school population, racial distribution, number of schools, and public school enrollment. The consolidation of the metropolitan and county school systems in these cities is also noted. It is felt that schools in the South are beginning to face problems of de facto segregation which are typical of the problems of Northern schools. A pattern is emerging of movement from segregation to some desegregation and then to resegregation. The major factors in the resegregation process are housing segregation, the growth of nonpublic schools, and the white flight to the suburbs. (NH)



DE FACTO SEGREGATION: A TALE OF THREE CITIES

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

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By John Egerton

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THE SPEAKER IS James M. Coates Jr., a member of the Little Rock, Ark., school board and an insurance executive who describes himself as "a Bob Taft Republican conservative":

"I can't believe any person who can think straight, knowing that we're going to have desegregation, wouldn't want a reasonable balance instead of what we're headed for, which is what the Northern cities have. There *is* no answer for Washington or New York, but we don't have problems that serious yet. We've got a golden opportunity to have a single, stable, balanced school system. If we don't grab the opportunity, we'll end up just like the cities in the North."

Mr. Coates was talking about *de facto* school segregation, which is probably the hottest education issue in Little Rock since federal troops enforced the beginning of desegregation there 10 years ago. The dispute then centered around the legal pillars that upheld the separation of the races; this time, it has to do with housing patterns, transportation policies, school site selection, geographical zoning, "freedom-of-choice" enrollment and a number of other factors which play a part in the continuation of segregation in many of the city's schools.

De facto segregation, in a word, has "arrived" in Little Rock, and in many another Southern city between Richmond and El Paso. What has been a fact of life in the cities of the North for decades is now emerging in dozens of Southern urban areas where court battles to maintain segregation by law are drawing to an unproductive close.

Numerous distinctions have been drawn between *de facto* segregation—that which results primarily from racial separation in housing—and *de jure* segregation—that which is enforced by law. The distinctions are somewhat blurred by the argument that all school segregation, North and South, is *de facto*—a fact, for whatever reasons. There is also evidence to indicate that much segregation in the North, while not sanctioned by statute or ordinance (*de jure*), is nevertheless the result of binding decisions by public officials who decide where new schools will be built, how large they will be and what area of the city they will serve.

But before Southern school segregation laws were repealed or declared unconstitutional, there were differences in the practice of segregation there and in the North, chief among them being this: Southern communities, operating dual school systems for whites and Negroes, maintained segregated schools regardless of population shifts or racial proportions; Northern communities, experiencing heavy in-migration of Negroes and an equally heavy exodus of whites to suburban districts, had schools which reflected these trends. The pattern by which once-white schools desegregate, then reach a "tipping point" enrollment somewhere between 20 and 50 per cent Negro, and finally become resegregated as predominantly Negro or all-Negro schools, has become common in the North. Now, in some areas of the South, that same process can be seen.

One further legal question of major importance to

school districts in all parts of the country remains to be answered: whether the U. S. Supreme Court, in its now-famous 1954 decision that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal," simply outlawed compulsory segregation or went further to rule all school segregation unconstitutional, no matter what its cause. Conflicting interpretations have been handed down by several federal district and appellate courts, but the Supreme Court has not yet addressed itself to the question.

While they wait to learn if they must achieve full and complete desegregation of all schools, many system officials are heatedly debating the desirability of such changes, and a few—particularly those in systems that already have a majority of Negro students—are wondering aloud whether racial balance is still a possibility. Particularly in the South, where attention has only recently shifted to *de facto* segregation, these questions are frequently raised:

- Are the nature and extent of segregation essentially the same in both Northern and Southern school systems?
- Will those Southern cities which are no longer preoccupied with *de jure* issues simply follow the pattern of history that has prevailed in the North and move from segregation to partial desegregation and finally to resegregation of many of their schools?
- Could some Southern communities—perhaps more easily than their Northern counterparts—establish a racial proportion in all their schools that approximates the racial composition of their populations?

In Little Rock, and in Nashville, Tenn., and Atlanta, Ga.—three cities in which this SOUTHERN EDUCATION REPORT survey was conducted—the answers to these questions vary widely.

ATLANTA

THE CITY OF ATLANTA, with 500,000 people, is encircled by a suburban ring that extends into five counties and adds another 700,000 or more to the population of the metropolitan area. About 44 per cent of those who live inside the city are Negroes, compared with a 7 per cent Negro population in the suburban areas. The Atlanta city school system in the fall of 1966 was 57 per cent Negro. It operates independently from the half-dozen or more suburban districts, all of which are predominantly white.

The now-familiar combination of an influx of Negroes and an out-migration of whites to the suburbs is an established trend of more than 20 years' duration in Atlanta, and by about 1970 the city is expected to have a majority-Negro population. Since the proportion of Negroes in the school system is now running 13 per cent ahead of the Negro proportion in the population, it seems clear that *de facto* segregation there is much the same as it is in Chicago, Philadelphia and other Northern cities, which also have a majority of Negroes in their public schools.

In one respect, however, Atlanta does differ from its Northern counterparts: until 1961, all of its schools were racially segregated by law. That fall, nine Negro students enrolled in four previously all-white high schools under a court order. By 1965, when desegregation was extended to all levels from kindergarten through 12th grade, there were 4,425 Negroes in schools with whites, and last year the total climbed to 8,171, according to a school-by-school enrollment check made by school officials soon after the fall term began.

This short history of desegregation leaves Atlanta with more segregated schools and a smaller percentage of desegregated Negro students than most big cities in the North. Last fall, 59 of the Georgia city's 142 schools were all-Negro, and another 28 were all-white. Almost 85 per cent of all Negro students were in segregated schools, and more than half of the 8,171 who were in schools with whites attended three schools whose combined white enrollment was just 31. In all, six schools which once were for whites only had become majority-Negro, including one which was a completely resegregated, all-Negro school.

It is the rising proportion of Negroes in the school system (and in the city) and the subsequent resegregation of schools that makes the Atlanta situation resemble those of Northern cities. Atlanta's desegregation plan approved by the federal courts is a freedom-of-choice arrangement superimposed upon a neighborhood school pattern. It guarantees each student a place in the school nearest his home, or allows him to choose any other school in the system which does not already have a capacity enrollment. Since the system provides no transportation, transfers away from neighborhood schools are relatively few, and the prevailing pattern of segregated housing thus influences the pace of desegregation in the schools.

There is substantial disagreement among school administrators, board members, public officials, civil rights leaders and other interested parties over what Atlanta can and should do to arrest the trend toward resegregation. Consolidation with suburban districts—particularly with the Fulton County district—has been a subject of study and discussion for many years, and such proposals as busing, school parks, school pairing, abandonment of freedom-of-choice and redrawing of school zones have been vigorously advocated.

Supporters of Supt. John W. Letson and the elected school board of nine members (including two Negroes) maintain that they have conscientiously promoted desegregation and worked to improve the quality of schools that remain segregated. Opponents of Dr. Letson and the board contend that they have, by accident or design, made decisions on new school sites, zone boundaries and other matters that have resulted in a minimum of desegregation.

Conversations with more than a dozen people holding widely differing views about Atlanta's school difficulties bring out only one point of agreement: segregation and resegregation is increasing in the city's school system.

Dr. Tilman C. Cothran, chairman of the sociology department at Atlanta University, was a consultant to

the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights for its report, *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools*, which was published early this year. "Until 1954, Atlanta's segregation problems were *de jure*," he says, "and they stayed that way until 1964. Now we have *de facto* segregation just like the North. The Board of Education could be a lot more affirmative and aggressive in trying to prevent this, but they're always afraid of white reaction, so they drag their feet or make promises they don't intend to keep, and hang on hoping things will solve themselves."

Cothran charges that the school system has built new schools on the edge of the city, out of range of Negro residents, and has allowed the free-choice plan to be used as an "escape route" for whites who live in racially mixed neighborhoods. At the same time, he concedes that those neighborhoods which now are mixed are in the process of resegregating.

Dr. Letson also acknowledges that trend. "We can't keep [white] people from moving out of the city," he says. "In the final analysis, the only way we can make desegregation work is to make our schools superior institutions, the very best they can possibly be. But we can't get federal funds for buildings and we don't have the local resources to do it on our own. With $20 million we could build a school park at Grady (a high school which now has about 1,200 whites and 100 Negroes), but before we can get the money it's going to be a lost cause."

Letson's view is that Atlanta is compelled to make its inner-city schools institutions of the highest quality regardless of their racial makeup, because full desegregation is not an overnight possibility, and perhaps not even a long-range one. "If we had high quality schools in these areas, there would not be the same urgency for whites to move out," he says. In the meantime, he notes, "the same forces that have operated in the Northern cities for years are now operating in the South. I see no way to change the trend. In 10 or 15 years, this school system will be 80 to 90 per cent Negro."

Mrs. Sarah Mitchell, a school-board member who has favored proposals to accelerate desegregation, shares Dr. Letson's view that upgrading of all-Negro schools is an imperative. "We must admit how little we've done," she says. "We are constrained to prove that segregated education is not necessarily inferior. I believe we are making a lot of progress in that respect."

Mrs. Mitchell also favors a free bus system to transport children out of overcrowded schools in the slums to schools which don't have capacity enrollments. "That's better than building new schools," she says, "but most of the other board members don't agree. It's my contention that we have had a plan for desegregation, but we've never had a plan for integration. We need such a plan, not just for the sake of mixing, but because it makes good sense educationally."

Whatever steps the school system might take to lessen segregation—busing, redistricting, consolidation and the like—there is a prevalent feeling that segregation in housing, the growth of nonpublic schools which are predominantly white and the continuing exodus of white families to the suburbs are the major factors influencing the racial composition of the schools, and that these factors which the school system can only indirectly influence will dictate a continuation of segregation and resegregation in the schools for the foreseeable future.

Atlanta, Georgia

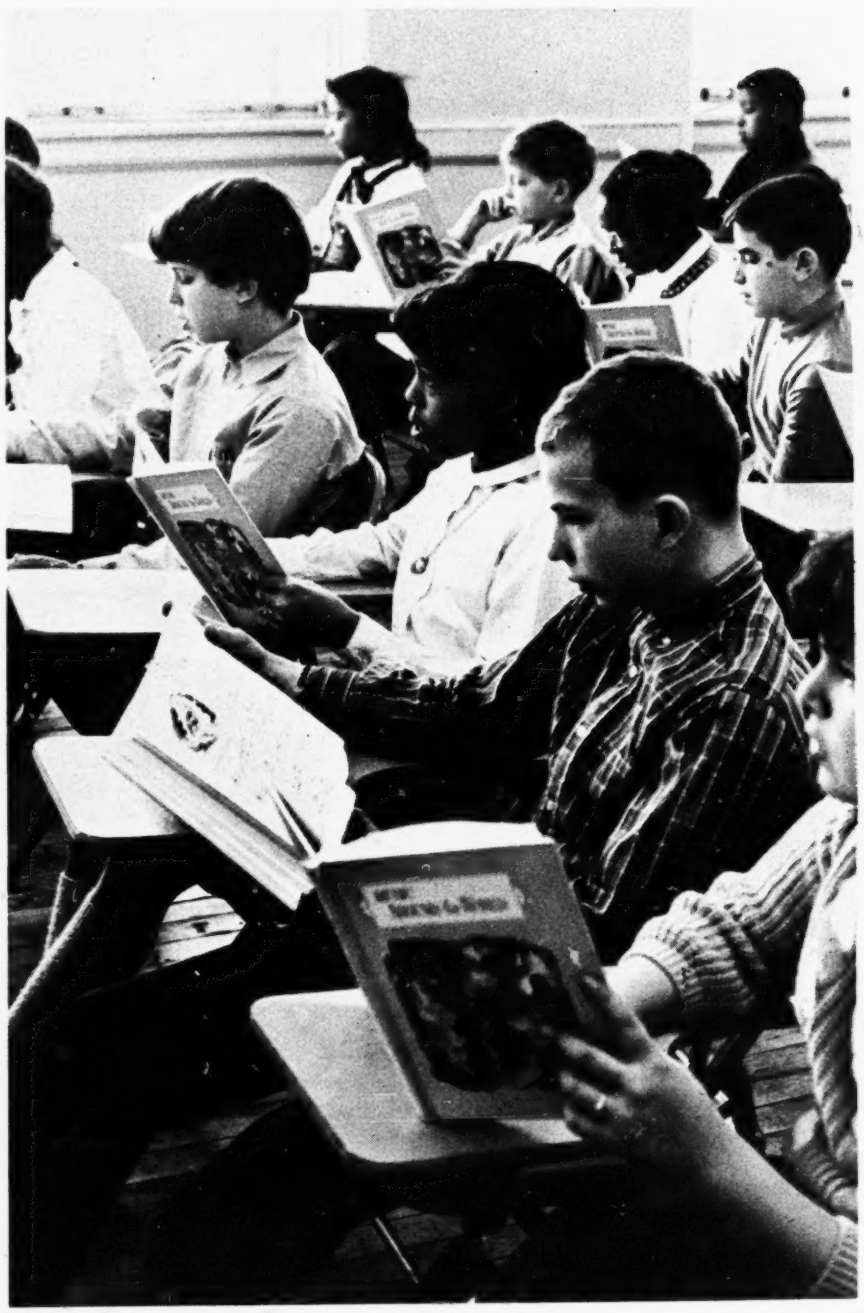
Supt. Letson

Estimated 1966 Population: 499,000 (55.6% white, 44.4% Negro)
Public-School Enrollment, 1966-67: 109,355 (43% white, 57% Negro)
Number of Schools: 142 (117 elementary, grades K-7; 25 secondary, grades 8-12)
First Year of Desegregation:
1961, when 10 Negro students enrolled in four formerly all-white high schools
Status of Desegregation, 1966-67:

- 28 schools remain 100% white, enrolling 33% of the system's white students
- 59 schools remain 100% Negro, enrolling 84% of the system's Negro students
- 39 formerly all-white schools had Negro enrollment of less than 10%
- 2 formerly all-Negro schools had white enrollment of less than 10%
- 8 formerly all-white schools had Negro enrollment of 10% to 50%
- 5 formerly all-white schools had Negro enrollment of 51% to 99%
- 1 formerly all-white school had Negro enrollment of 100%, enrolling .02% of the system's Negro students

The five-county Atlanta metropolitan area had an estimated population of 1,211,000 in 1966, reflecting an increase of almost 200,000 since the 1960 census. The white population of the metropolitan area was 77.8 per cent of the total in 1966, up .6 per cent in six years. Most of the city of Atlanta is in Fulton County. The estimated 1966 population of Fulton County outside Atlanta was 138,300, of whom about 88 per cent were white. There is a separate school system for Fulton County outside Atlanta, and in the 1966-67 school year it reported 166 Negro students in desegregated schools. About 12 per cent of the system's pupils are Negroes, and about 95 per cent of them attended all-Negro schools.

Figures compiled from surveys and reports of the Atlanta Metropolitan Planning Commission and the Atlanta Public Schools, and from interviews. A small number of other nonwhites are included in the figures and percentages identified as "Negro."



NASHVILLE

FEWER COMPLICATIONS cloud the desegregation picture in Nashville. To begin with, the city and Davidson County have metropolitan government, one result of which is a single school system. The county has a population of about 460,000 (80 per cent white, 20 per cent Negro), and last fall the schools enrolled some 91,000 students, of whom 77 per cent were white.

Since desegregation began 10 years ago, the schools have operated a neighborhood school plan based on geographical zoning, and 86 of the 141 schools now have some measure of desegregation. Thirty-three per cent of the system's white students and 47 per cent of its Negro students remain in the 55 segregated schools.

The neighborhood school plan is strictly enforced; all requests for transfer are reviewed by the school board, and transfers are approved only for such compelling reasons as the need for a course not offered at the student's assigned school. Bus service is provided for students who live a mile and a half or more from their school; all other students walk or provide their own transportation—including those who are approved for transfer outside their zone.

The amount of desegregation in Nashville thus far exceeds that of most Southern cities. As in most cities, however, segregated housing is the prevailing pattern. There are sections which are all-Negro—mostly in the center of the city—and others which are all-white—primarily in the outlying areas. Schools in those sections are for the most part still segregated. And there are "changing neighborhoods"—sections where once-white housing is becoming predominantly Negro. In those areas there are seven schools which in 1963 had from 2 to 34 per cent Negro enrollments; in 1966, the same schools had Negro enrollments of from 55 to 75 per cent.

Dr. John H. Harris, the director (superintendent) of the metropolitan school system, believes the system "has done a good job of desegregation so far." He adds: "But the continued segregation of some schools and the resegregation of others is an inevitability beyond our control. We adhere rigidly to our geographical zoning plan of enrollment. Since we can't control the racial makeup of those zones, we can't determine the amount of desegregation we will have. It is going to depend on the racial composition of the neighborhoods; I can't visualize the demise of the neighborhood school in this community."

The system is moving into a standard 6-3-3 pattern that calls for larger and fewer junior and senior high schools, and the enlarged zones around these schools are expected to result in further desegregation.

Since urban-suburban consolidation has already been achieved in Nashville, and since nonpublic schools are not a major factor, further acceleration of desegregation there, in the words of Frank P. Grisham, vice chairman of the school board, "is possible but not likely to happen under present conditions." Grisham believes the school administration and most of the board have made a sincere effort to maximize deseg-

regation in the system. "But we've barely touched the long-range problem," he says. "We're not that far along in our thinking. You can give us some credit, but not much."

Grisham says the schools "don't have the staff, the machinery or the funds to plan and bring about a unified, stabilized racial pattern in the entire system. This must have a higher priority on our list, but it would necessitate a change in the neighborhood school concept. We've got to find a natural, reasonable, rational way to achieve total desegregation."

Dr. Joe Goss, executive secretary of the Metropolitan Nashville Education Association, thinks comprehensive educational parks offer the most effective way to reduce school segregation. "School parks are destined to become the style of the future," he says, "because we now have the ability to individualize instruction, and the technology which makes this possible, together with economic necessity, will eventually lead to the development of such schools."

Dr. Goss believes school parks serving all grades and drawing students from large sections of the city "would incidentally result in virtually complete desegregation." He adds: "Steps already taken in planning large high schools and junior high schools in Nashville could lay the groundwork for eventual development of a school-park system that would allow us to jump over many cities which are now facing serious problems of desegregation and educational quality."

Without such parks, the controlling factor in the school desegregation picture is housing. The school board, by adhering to the geographical zoning plan, has received some criticism from whites and a little from Negroes, but for the most part the racial composition of the schools has not been an issue in Nashville for several years. Members of the school board, and even some of its critics, maintain that there has been no effort in recent years to regulate the pace of desegregation, but some civil rights leaders say the board has "dragged its feet," while a few white residents believe it has pushed too fast.

Mansfield Douglas III, president of the Nashville chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and a member of the Metropolitan Council, offers this summation: "Most of the factors that 'lock in' *de facto* segregation in the schools of many big cities aren't yet in force here—we don't have an exceptionally large Negro population, the white suburbs are part of the school district, and we don't have a lot of private schools. But we have segregation in housing, and that is causing the resegregation of some of our schools. Unless that problem gets solved, school segregation will become a big issue here all over again."

Nashville, Tennessee

Estimated 1965 Population: 460,900 (80% white, 20% Negro)

Public-School Enrollment, 1966-67: 91,308 (77% white, 23% Negro)

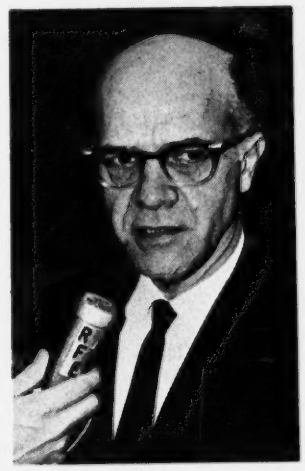
Number of Schools: 141.

System is being converted to 6-3-3 school grade organization, from what was basically a 6-6 pattern.

First Year of Desegregation: 1957, when 19 Negro first-graders enrolled in seven formerly all-white elementary schools

Status of Desegregation, 1966-67:

43 schools remain 100% white, enrolling 33% of the system's white students
12 schools remain 100% Negro, enrolling 47% of the system's Negro students
58 formerly all-white schools had Negro enrollment of less than 10%
8 formerly all-Negro schools had white enrollment of less than 10%
13 formerly all-white schools had Negro enrollment of 10% to 50%
7 formerly all-white schools had Negro enrollment of 51% to 75%



Director Harris

Nashville and Davidson County consolidated their city and county governments in 1963, resulting in the merger of the two separate school systems.

Figures compiled from surveys and reports of the Nashville Metropolitan Planning Commission and the Metropolitan Public Schools. A small number of other nonwhites are included in some of the figures and percentages identified as "Negro."

Supt. Parsons

Little Rock, Arkansas

Estimated 1967 Population: 135,500 (78.3% white, 21.7% Negro)

Public-School Enrollment, 1966-67: 24,103 (67% white, 33% Negro)

Number of Schools:

42 (31 elementary, grades 1-6; seven junior highs, grades 7-9; four high schools, grades 10-12)

First Year of Desegregation: 1957, when nine Negro students enrolled in one formerly all-white high school

Status of Desegregation, 1966-67:

7 schools remain 100% white, enrolling 21% of the system's white students
12 schools remain 100% Negro, enrolling 79% of the system's Negro students
12 formerly all-white schools had Negro enrollment of less than 10%
1 formerly all-Negro school had white enrollment of less than 10%
9 formerly all-white schools had Negro enrollment of 10% to 50%
1 formerly all-white school had Negro enrollment of 61%

Pulaski County, in which Little Rock is located, has a population of about 300,000, of whom about 80 per cent are white. There are three school systems in the county: Little Rock, North Little Rock and Pulaski County. In the 1966-67 school year, the North Little Rock system enrolled approximately 13,000 pupils—77 per cent of them white—in 24 schools. Eleven of the schools were all-white, five were all-Negro, and eight were formerly all-white schools with from three to 107 Negro pupils. Of the approximately 2,900 Negroes in the system, about 2,530, or 87 per cent, were in all-Negro schools. The Pulaski County system in 1966-67 enrolled approximately 24,000 students—79 per cent of them white—in 42 schools. Four of the schools were all-white, five were all-Negro, and 33 reported some measure of desegregation. Of the approximately 5,100 Negroes in the system, about 3,700, or 73 per cent, were in all-Negro schools.

Figures compiled from surveys and reports of the Little Rock Schools, and from interviews in all three districts. A small number of other nonwhites are included in the figures and percentages identified as "Negro."

LITTLE ROCK

When President Eisenhower sent federal troops to Central High School in September, 1957, to maintain order following the enrollment of nine Negro students, Little Rock became a symbol of Southern defiance of school desegregation. Last fall, 1,326 Negro students—16.7 per cent of all Negroes in the school system—were in schools with whites.

Most of this desegregation has taken place in the low-income sections of the central city, with schools in the western section remaining mostly white and those on the east side having virtually all-Negro enrollments. Nineteen of the system's 42 schools remained segregated last fall, and 21 formerly all-white schools were still majority-white but had some desegregation. One previously all-Negro school had a few white students, and one formerly all-white school had a 61 per cent Negro enrollment.

With a population of approximately 135,000 (about 78 per cent white), Little Rock maintains a school system that last fall enrolled 24,103 pupils, 67 per cent of them white. The proportion of Negroes in the schools was 11 per cent higher than in the population as a whole. School attendance records show that white enrollment declined 9 per cent between 1964 and 1966, while Negro enrollment increased by 9.2 per cent. During the same two-year period, the other two school districts in the Little Rock metropolitan area—Pulaski County and North Little Rock—had an increase in the percentage of white students in their schools.

There has been considerable study and discussion of proposals to consolidate the three school districts into a single, countywide system. Such an arrangement might incidentally increase desegregation because the two districts outside the city of Little Rock have higher percentages of white pupils (77 per cent in North Little Rock, 79 per cent in Pulaski County). Both those districts now have about the same proportion of desegregation as Little Rock, however, and the consolidation proposals are apparently motivated by economic issues and not by racial considerations.

Of more immediate concern to some Little Rock citizens is the continuation of segregation in almost half the city's schools and the likelihood of resegregation in others. John W. Walker, an attorney who handles civil rights cases for the NAACP, asked the school board in February of 1966 to take affirmative steps to end segregation in the schools, and four local citizens' organizations which had been studying the problem made similar requests. The board subsequently met with representatives of the four groups, and at that meeting board member James Coates proposed that a survey on desegregation be made by an outside research team.

At a later meeting, the board incorporated Coates's suggestion into a resolution which said the school system intended to comply with civil rights school legislation and wanted an "appropriate long-range plan" for complete desegregation of the system. After taking bids from several university research teams, it selected the University of Oregon's Bureau of Educational Research to make the study.

Last September, the school board for the first time allowed students in all 12 grades to make a choice of schools. Previously, a system of free choice in three grades (1, 7 and 10) and pupil assignment in the other nine had been followed. The new procedure resulted in no substantial changes in the racial composition of the schools. In November, a 20-man team of researchers from Oregon began the desegregation study, and seven months later, on June 3, they gave

the school board a 207-page final report.

The Oregon Report proposed abandonment of some outdated school buildings and construction of some new facilities that would result in fewer and larger plants and a reorganized grade structure of 5-3-2-2, replacing the existing 6-3-3 plan. Its other proposals included the pairing of some schools, the beginning of a transportation system for some students (the schools have no such system now), and a modification of the free-choice plan—all of which would lead to elimination of the dual school pattern and a racial mixture in all schools approximating that in the system as a whole.

The controversy which followed was for two months Little Rock's biggest public issue, reviving memories of the desegregation battle 10 years ago. Two board members—Coates and Mrs. Jean Gordon—generally supported the report. Supt. Floyd W. Parsons and Dr. Edwin N. Barron Jr., another board member, opposed most of it. The other four board members were cautiously noncommittal, as were two of the four citizens' groups which had been instrumental in initiating the survey. A new group was formed to block implementation of the report, the two city newspapers were divided on the issue, and two board members (including Coates) up for re-election in September drew opposition from "anti-Oregon Report" candidates.

At a meeting July 27, the board took action that had the effect of shelving all but two of the research team's recommendations. A stepped-up program of compensatory education and a plan to pair, or consolidate, an all-Negro high school and a desegregated vocational-technical school in 1968 were approved. The restructuring of grades, the abandonment of outdated schools, the start of a partial transportation system and the modification of free choice to prevent racial imbalance were not acted upon. Said Coates: "The Oregon Report is a dead issue."

Coates supported the report as a "hard-nosed business proposition." He maintains that the city "has knowingly or unknowingly perpetuated the dual school system, leaving worn-out schools in the center of the city to colored people and building nice new ones for whites in the suburbs. I live out there too, but I know we can't keep on getting away with that. The ones who holler loudest about this report are people who want integration for everyone but themselves—and these are my friends and neighbors."

As a member of the National Committee for the Support of Public Schools, Coates says he has been to national meetings "and heard the anguished cries of school officials from the big Northern cities who have a problem so big they can't lick it."

"But look at us," he says. "Our city hasn't grown to unmanageable size, we don't have an extremely large Negro population, we don't have private schools draining off white students, we don't have ghettos like Harlem, and a large part of our suburban area is still a part of the city school district. We've got a golden opportunity to balance and stabilize this thing, and to make our schools better for all our kids. If we don't do it now, we'll end up like Washington or Philadelphia."

Dr. Edwin Barron, the board member most outspoken in his opposition to the report, thinks it was "self-defeating." "We have to work toward a stabilized, integrated school system," he says. "We must avoid the disaster that has befallen New York and Washington. But if we do something too aggressive, we'll only cause hostility and mistrust." Supt. Parsons, too, took exception to most of the report's recommendations, though he maintains that "we're committed to the concept of continuing desegregation until we develop a unitary school system."

What remains at issue in Little Rock is a timetable to accomplish that goal.

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IN NORTHERN CITIES such as Chicago, Detroit and Philadelphia, and in the "border" cities of Baltimore, Washington and St. Louis, Negroes already make up a majority of the public-school enrollment. In all those cities, the proportion of Negroes in the public schools is 20 to 30 per cent higher than in the population as a whole—a disparity which results in the main from larger Negro families and from the existence of nonpublic schools that are predominantly white. It is in these cities where *de facto* school segregation runs far ahead of Negro proportions in the population that race in education is a dominant and continuing concern. In Atlanta, New Orleans and a few other large urban centers of the Deep South, many of the factors which contribute to *de facto* segregation in Northern school systems are already in evidence.

What to do about *de facto* segregation is a question which divides the civil rights and education forces that long have advocated full desegregation. The U. S. Office of Education study, *Equality of Educational Opportunity*, the Civil Rights Commission's study of racial isolation in the schools and more than a decade of court decisions—not to mention a variety of other studies and reports—have been drawn from by advocates of busing, of school parks, of compensatory education and numerous other approaches. So far, there is plenty of disagreement, but little in the way of long-term solutions to the problem.

In many smaller cities of the South, some of the ingredients which make *de facto* segregation a seemingly irreversible pattern elsewhere have not yet become a fixed part of the picture. It was to these cities that U. S. Commissioner of Education Harold Howe II referred when he told the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools convention last November:

"The South may have the opportunity through long-range planning to avoid some of the civic agony that Northern cities and their schools are experiencing today." ○